LOS ANGELES TIMES POLL ALERT

L.A. CITY MAYOR’S RACE TIGHTENS

With just a week remaining to the May 17th L.A. mayoral runoff, the incumbent, James Kenneth Hahn, has not completely made the case to the voters of the city of Los Angeles why they should put him back in office for a second term. All elections hinge on turnout and which candidate can motivate his troops to come out to vote. And this city election, where only 28% of the voters came out to support their candidates in the primary, is no exception. Turnout, turnout and turnout is the key to winning. The campaigns and pundits are predicting that the runoff election will yield a worse turnout than the runoff four years ago. Then, 38% of the electorate came out to vote. This election, the prediction is the turnout will be about the same as the March primary (411,000 votes).

To illustrate the struggle Hahn has in moving voters to his side, Villaraigosa’s voters are voting for him because they like him, while similar numbers of Hahn’s voters are supporting him because they think he is the lesser of two evils. The electorate is also saying that they don’t want the status quo – instead more than two out of three say they want the city to move in a new direction, rather than stay the course with Hahn’s policies. Hahn’s job approval has sunk to its lowest level since the Times Poll asked this question during Hahn’s first term and only a third think he is a strong leader. His ratings are almost as negative as former governor Gray Davis’ before the recall. (Hahn’s job approval rating is 38%-56%. In a September 2003 statewide Times poll, 65% of likely voters disapproved of the job Davis was doing, while 31% approved). Another disappointing finding for Hahn is the fact that more voters don’t think he has a personality well-suited for the job of mayor of Los Angeles. Yet, voters have a completely different opinion of Villaraigosa – he is considered a strong leader, his personality is well-suited to be mayor of L.A. and his voters have a high opinion of him. Surprisingly, with both sides attacking each other’s veracity, a majority of voters for each candidate say they have the honesty and integrity to serve as mayor of L.A. However, more voters – 39% -- think Hahn does not have that attribute, compared to 28% of voters who think that of Villaraigosa.

In the Times poll conducted in April, the challenger, Antonio R. Villaraigosa was substantially ahead of his opponent by 18 points. He beat Hahn in every demographic group except for Republicans, conservatives and conservative Republicans. Hahn is still losing to many of the groups he was losing to Villaraigosa in the April survey, but now the poll shows that Hahn has made progress in either neutralizing voters in some of these groups or putting their vote in his column. If the election were held today, Villaraigosa would beat Hahn by 51% to 40% (down seven points since the Times poll asked the horserace question three weeks ago). Nine percent are undecided. The poll was in the field at the time both candidates began to run negative television and radio ads denouncing each others honesty and trustworthiness because of alleged dubious campaign contributions. Before Villaraigosa became entangled with questionable donations from Florida campaign contributors, he was able to attack Hahn for his integrity and take the high road. Now, it appears that Hahn has inoculated himself from the torrent of accusations thrown his way by the Villaraigosa camp since the primary. Both sides are being hurt somewhat by these allegations. At least a quarter of likely voters each say they are less likely to vote for Hahn or Villaraigosa because of the pay-to-play allegations about Hahn’s administration and the questionable Florida donations to Villaraigosa from two Florida gift shop company executives with interest in doing business at L.A. airport.
Voting by Select Subgroups

One group that is up for grabs – is one that the Times poll has labeled the “persuadable voters.” They are voters who could vote for someone else or are undecided. This group of voters were 27% in last month’s poll, but have declined to 16% in the current one. They appear to be voters who are a little more moderate, older, black, women and voters living in the Valley.

Party ID and political ideology: Democrats are still solidly behind Villaraigosa in this poll at 57% to 34% for Hahn; however, this group supported Villaraigosa over Hahn by 36 points in April. In the 2001 runoff, Villaraigosa beat Hahn by 4 points among Democrats. Hahn, on the other hand, has solidly maintained his Republican base both in this poll and the one in April. He beats Villaraigosa by 16 points in the current survey – 53% to 37% among this group (20 points in April). But in the 2001 runoff, the Times exit poll showed Hahn trounced his opponent by a full 58 points among Republicans. Independents and minor party voters give Villaraigosa a six point lead -- 48% to 42%. In the 2001 runoff, Villaraigosa edged out Hahn by 53% to 47%. Liberal Democrats are solidly behind Hahn’s opponent. More than three out five voters in this group support Villaraigosa, more than the 59% he received in the 2001 runoff, but less than the 71% he garnered from voters in the April poll. Hahn has kept his hold on conservative Republicans. Two-thirds of voters in this group are backing the incumbent. He increased his share of the vote among this group since the April poll, where he received a bare majority(53%), but has not reached the same magnitude of vote he received from them in the 2001 runoff (87%).

Race/Ethnicity: White voters have been the biggest supporters of Hahn. In 2001, Hahn captured 59% of the white vote, including the white San Fernando Valley (66%) and split the white Westside vote with Villaraigosa. Today, he virtually splits the overall white vote (48% for Hahn vs. 45% for Villaraigosa), but keeps the white San Fernando Valley voters at 52% to 39% for his opponent. Latino voters have increased their support of Villaraigosa, who may become the first Latino mayor in over 100 years. In the April poll, 61% supported the city councilman, while a third supported the incumbent. In this poll, more than three-quarters of Latino voters are now encamped on the Villaraigosa side, while less than a fifth are supporting the mayor. This result is closer to the 82% of Latino voters who supported Villaraigosa in the 2001 runoff (18% voted for Hahn).

Black voters are one of the swing groups in this election. The black community were strong supporters of Hahn in 2001. More than four out of five voters in this bloc voted for the mayor in that election. He had the support and the hearts of the community, including church and civic leaders. The roles have reversed in this election. Now, church and civic leaders, along with the black-owned weekly newspaper, L.A. Sentinel have endorsed the challenger, Villaraigosa. There was a sense of betrayal among many voters in this community because of the way Hahn handled the firing of Police Chief Bernard Parks. In the April poll, blacks supported Hahn’s opponent overwhelmingly -- giving him a 20 point lead. However, in this poll, there appears to be a coming home to Hahn. The black voters are splitting their vote-- 43% for Villaraigosa vs. 40% for the incumbent. But, 16% are undecided. When breaking out the older black voters (45 and over), Villaraigosa leads Hahn by 41% to 37% (well within the margin of error), but 21% are undecided. Also, a positive development for Hahn are the voters who supported Parks in the primary are now supporting the mayor by 48% to 33%. Black voters appear to be in play. The poll suggests that Hahn will not achieve the overwhelming support he received from this group in 2001, but it does suggest that Hahn could pull a majority of votes from these voters on election day.

Parts of the city: The San Fernando Valley, especially whites in that area, has been the focus for Hahn’s campaign. In 2001, he beat Villaraigosa by 10 points in the Valley. But Hahn has been having a hard time with this area, partially because of his strong anti-secession campaign. In April, Villaraigosa had control of the Valley – leading Hahn by 20 points. In the current poll, it is a virtual tie (44% for Hahn, 45% for Villaraigosa). But among white SFV voters, Hahn overtakes his opponent by 52% to 39%. He is now also getting voters who supported Bob Hertzberg in the primary by 49% to 39%. The Westside voters split their vote in 2001, but in this election they support Villaraigosa. Half of these voters are supporting the challenger, while slightly more than two-fifths are backing Hahn. Whites living on the Westside are strongly supporting Villaraigosa by 53% to 40%. Voters living in
central L.A., are overwhelmingly supporting Villaraigosa by 66% to 29%. This is a larger share than he got in 2001 (58% to 42%). The voters in the southern part of the city are giving Villaraigosa the edge at 48% to 40% for Hahn. In the 2001 runoff, Hahn beat Villaraigosa by 34 points in this part of the city.

Religion: Jewish voters made up 18% of the electorate in the 2001 runoff, while they represented 14% of the voters in the March primary. The poll shows that Jews are supporting Villaraigosa although the vote is tightening since the April poll when Villaraigosa had the support of this group by 36 points. Yet, it is a turnaround from the 2001 runoff when Jewish voters supported Hahn by 54% to 46%. Catholics are going for Villaraigosa by 62% to 29% and non-Catholic Christians support Hahn by 52% to 38%.

Union Members: Most of the city unions have endorsed the mayor, but it has not resonated fully with the rank and file. In April, Villaraigosa was the candidate for 56% of union voters, while Hahn received 34% of their vote. In the current poll, the vote by this group has narrowed between the two candidates. Nearly half of union voters support the challenger, while 42% support the mayor. In the 2001 runoff, union voters went for Hahn by 52% to 48%.

Age, education and income: The older voters (65 and over) can be relied on to vote in almost every election. In the 2001 runoff, they strongly supported Hahn. Now, they are virtually split (45% for Hahn and 43% for Villaraigosa). The younger cohorts are solidly behind Villaraigosa.

All income groups are backing the challenger, except for those households earning more than $100,000. The most affluent voters are split – 47% for each candidate.

Education levels don’t seem to be playing a role in the vote. Both groups – those with a college degree or not – are each supporting Villaraigosa.

The Electorate and the City

With only a week to go until the runoff election, the survey found signs of an increasingly disaffected electorate, and one not very happy with its incumbent mayor. Voters were nearly as likely to say they were voting for the candidate they chose because he was the “lesser of two evils” (45%) than because they liked him and his policies (50%), perhaps not surprising in an election in which both candidates are increasingly relying on trading accusations of wrongdoing.

While James Hahn has consolidated his standing among his backers and has closed the gap with his challenger among some areas of the city, one of the major hurdles the mayor faces in his bid for re-election is that well over half (56%) of likely voters said Los Angeles is off on the wrong track and fully two-thirds of voters said that getting the city on the right track would require a move away from the mayor’s policies and onto something new. Fewer than one in four said the city is better off because of the work Hahn has done while serving his first term. Only about half of Hahn's own backers gave his policies a vote of confidence, while 38% said they'd like to move the city in a new direction.

Interest in the election has increased since the Times Poll measured it about a month ago, so that about half said they are following the election “closely” compared to about four in 10 a month ago, but many analysts nonetheless predict a very low turnout on May 17th. Turnout was only 28% in the March 8th election that propelled Hahn and Villaraigosa into their second face off in four years.

The Mayoral Candidates

Job and Favorability Ratings

Nearly six in 10 likely voters citywide said they disapprove of the work James Hahn did in his first term -- nearly a twenty point slip downward from that rating taken in a Times poll one month ago, and the lowest rating that the Poll has measured so far. Fewer than four in 10 gave the mayor a thumbs-up in the current poll. Similarly, Hahn's
favorability rating, at 46%, is similarly the lowest ever, with 49% saying they have an unfavorable view of him. Last month's Times poll measured it at 50% favorable and 44% unfavorable.

Even Hahn's own backers are not pleased with Hahn's accomplishments over the last four years. The mayor has consolidated his lead over Villaraigosa among self-described conservative Republicans (who now back his candidacy by more than two to one and who were 12% of the electorate last March) but more of that group disapproved of the job the mayor did over his first term than approved, by 54% to 44%. Republicans overall disapproved 57% to 37% while still backing the mayor's re-election bid by 53% to 37%.

However, over the last month Hahn has tightened the contest among black voters, who are now split almost evenly between Hahn and Villaraigosa in the election. Hahn has continued to enjoy a core level of support in that group, and they continue to have a more favorable impression than unfavorable by 50% to 40%. In comparison, white voters in this current survey split 49% each favorable and unfavorable and Latinos tended toward the unfavorable view by 55% to 36%.

One of the most dramatic changes the survey found in comparison to the survey last month is in the important Latino voter community, which has been comprising more than a fifth of the city's voting electorate in recent years. That group has consolidated behind Villaraigosa as the runoff nears and at the same time their outlook on Hahn and the election has become much less positive. A majority of Latino voters last month gave Hahn credit for a job well done (even though a majority were even then backing his challenger in the race) but that dropped to only 27% who gave him a positive job approval rating in the current survey. More than eight in 10 Latino voters in this survey viewed Villaraigosa in a positive light, up from seven in 10 a month ago, and only 13% had an unfavorable view of the front-running challenger compared to twenty percent one month ago.

Generally speaking, Villaraigosa was viewed by a majority of voters citywide in a much more flattering light than Hahn enjoyed. About six in 10 voters overall said they viewed him favorably, compared to 30% who did not. Republicans were split 47% favorable to 50% unfavorable, and the candidate was viewed positively by majorities of whites (55%), blacks (64%), Latinos (84%), Democrats (69%), voters on the Westside (59%), in the central city (71%) and in the southern city (66%).

Candidate Attributes – Leadership, Honesty, and Personality

Another clue to Villaraigosa's front-runner status may lie in the survey’s finding that when asked if each candidate had the personality, leadership, honesty and integrity to do the job, voters rated Villaraigosa more highly than Hahn in every measure. More than half (56%) of those who said they are voting for the “lesser of two evils” are voting for Hahn, while two-thirds of those who are voting because they like their candidate are behind Villaraigosa. Put another way, nearly six in 10 of Hahn voters said their choice for mayor is the lesser of two evils, while only a third of Villaraigosa’s voters felt the same.

Leadership: Only 36% of likely voters said that Hahn is a strong leader while 59% said that he is not, compared to 55% who said Villaraigosa is a strong leader and 29% who said he is not. Hahn has made no headway over the last month of campaigning in convincing voters of his leadership skills –these numbers are a slight drop from the 44% who said Hahn was an able leader one month ago. In the current survey, just over half (56%) of Hahn’s supporters rated their candidate as a good leader, while 83% of Villaraigosa’s said that about him.

Personality: More than two-thirds (68%) of likely voters said Villaraigosa, who is known for his personable style, is well suited to the job of mayor, compared to fewer than a half (45%) who said the same of Hahn. Even 57% of Republicans give Villaraigosa credit in this area. While a respectable 72% of Hahn’s backers said their candidate has what it takes, 93% of Villaraigosa's voters said the same thing about their man.

Honesty and Integrity: In debates and in their campaign advertising, Hahn and Villaraigosa have traded accusations of ethical violations involving campaign contributions and it has clearly taken its toll on the voter trust. Hahn suffers from this more than Villaraigosa, perhaps because of how long this has been an issue for him, compared to the more recent allegations against his challenger. Just over half (51%) credited Hahn with the honesty and integrity
to be mayor compared to 39% who did not. Just under six in 10 (58%) said Villaraigosa was honest, compared to 28% who disagreed. Seventeen percent of Hahn’s own backers said he isn’t honest enough, while only 5% of Villaraigosa’s voters said their candidate lacks integrity.

**Allegations and Campaign Controversies**

Allegations that Villaraigosa’s campaign accepted illegal contributions from a Florida company surfaced fairly recently and have been featured heavily in Hahn campaign ads. In Hahn’s own case investigations into allegations that Hahn’s administration awarded city contracts in return for contributions to his coffers have been ongoing, and have been brought up by candidates running to replace Hahn as mayor since before the “primary” election last March.

This trading of allegations have taken a toll on voters’ view of both Hahn and Villaraigosa, but most voters say that no specific allegation or accusation leveled by either side is having an effect on their vote. Besides allegations of wrongdoing, there are other issues at play in the campaign, such as Hahn’s refusal to back Bernard Parks for a second term as police chief and his leadership in opposition to the movement to secede the San Fernando Valley from the city of Los Angeles. Perhaps echoing one of George W. Bush’s ultimately successful attacks on challenger John Kerry in the 2004 presidential election, Hahn has accused Villaraigosa of flip-flopping on stands he’s taken in his legislative past. Hahn has also focused on alleged ethical problems arising from a letter Villaraigosa wrote on behalf of the jailed son of a contributor, and of Villaraigosa’s being too liberal – pointing out that the challenger was once a leader in a local chapter of the A.C.L.U.. The survey tested each of these.

**Hahn: Bernard Parks and San Fernando Valley Secession**

**Parks:** When asked if the fact that Hahn did not back Bernard Parks’ reappointment to a second term as police chief affected their choice of mayoral candidate, seven out of 10 voters citywide said it did not. In fact, it seems to be helping rather than hurting him – one in 10 said they might decide to vote against Hahn as a result, but 18% said they were more likely to vote for him.

Even six out of 10 black voters said that Hahn’s decision played no role in their choice. Black voters as a group heavily backed Hahn in the 2001 election when he ran against Villaraigosa the first time, but backed away from the mayor after he refused to endorse another term for Parks. But even though Times surveys showed that Hahn’s decision rankled the black community deeply, time may be healing some of those wounds - only 13% of black voters in the current survey said they are less likely to vote for Hahn as a result of that decision, a big drop from the 27% who said that they would vote against Hahn for that reason in a survey taken last February before the March 8th election in which Parks was running as a candidate.

**San Fernando Valley Secession:** Another controversial issue for Hahn is his leadership against the secession of the San Fernando Valley from the city of Los Angeles, which was strongly backed by a segment of Valley voters. However, even though the survey found that about a quarter of voters in the Valley (which makes up a plurality of the city’s electorate) said that they are less likely to vote for Hahn as a result of his opposition to secession, citywide Hahn benefited as much as he was being hurt by that stand. Seventeen percent overall said they are more likely to vote for Hahn for that reason in a survey taken last February before the March 8th election in which Parks was running as a candidate.

**Villaraigosa: Flip-flopping, Vignali, the ACLU, and Gang Injunctions.**

**Flip-Flopping:** Hahn’s campaign has accused Villaraigosa of “flip-flopping” – that is, changing his position on controversial issues to fit his audience—and the survey found that the accusation is hitting home for some voters. Although about a third said they don’t think the charge is true, including 54% of his own voters, about half overall said that they believe that it is a just accusation. Of those that think that he flip-flops, 45% said it makes them less likely to vote for him, while 37% said it plays no role. Just under half of Hahn’s supporters said the accusation played a role in their vote.
Vignali: Another charge leveled against Villaraigosa is that he pled for the release of a prisoner as a favor to a contributor. Respondents were read the following question: “As you may know, in 1996 Antonio Villaraigosa wrote a letter to the White House, seeking an early release from prison for Carlos Vignali, who had been convicted of cocaine trafficking and sentenced to 15 years. Villaraigosa and other politicians had been asked to write such letters by Vignali's father, who had contributed to their political campaigns. President Clinton commuted Vignali's sentence. Villaraigosa now says writing the letter was a mistake. Will this matter play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not?“

Two-thirds citywide said the Vignali letter played no role in their decision, and 25% said they were less likely to vote for Villaraigosa as a result, although about half of Hahn’s supporters said that it played a role in their decision.

The ACLU: Hahn has characterized Villaraigosa as being extremely far to the left ideologically, and in last month’s survey, more than four in 10 citywide said that he was more liberal than they were. As evidence of this, Hahn points to Villaraigosa’s leadership role in the Southern California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. This is another charge that is resonating with some voters—while six in 10 said that it played no role in their vote, just over two in 10 said that they’d be less likely to vote for Villaraigosa as a result and 18% said they’d be more likely to vote for him. Predictably, conservatives are the most concerned by the candidate’s involvement in the ACLU. More than four in 10 conservatives and nearly two-thirds of conservative Republicans said it would make them less likely to back Villaraigosa’s candidacy. Thirty percent of liberals said they are more likely to back him as a result.

Gang Injunctions: Another charge that is basically a wash with voters is that Villaraigosa once opposed gang injunctions, which are court orders that limit the ability of gangs to associate in certain neighborhoods. Villaraigosa now says he supports such injunctions against gang members. The charge isn’t sticking well—62% said it made no difference in their choice, 16% said they’d be more likely to vote for him and 17% said they’d be less likely.

Both Candidates: Allegations and Investigations

Respondents were asked the following two questions:

“Local and federal prosecutors are investigating whether city contracts were awarded for political contributions to James Hahn's campaign. Hahn denies the allegations. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Hahn for mayor, or not?“ and

“As you may know, Antonio Villaraigosa accepted more than $40,000 from employees and relatives of two Florida gift shop companies with interest in doing business at the Los Angeles airport. Some of the donors have given conflicting stories about why they gave to his campaign. Villaraigosa says they gave because they feel it is time for a change in Los Angeles. After the donations became public knowledge, he returned the money. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not?“

The allegations against Hahn may be the single most damaging issue of the campaign, judging from voter doubt about the mayor’s integrity. It was part of the primary debate leading up to the election last March and it has continued to be featured heavily in debates and advertising by Villaraigosa. However, the survey found evidence that the allegations that have now surfaced against campaign contribution irregularity in Villaraigosa’ own campaign may have helped to neutralize the effectiveness of the charge against his opponent.

Sixty-two percent of voters in this survey said the allegations against Hahn and his denial of wrongdoing will not play any role in their vote, well up from the 49% that said it would not play a role when the Times Poll asked the question last March. While 25% citywide said they are less likely to vote for Hahn as a result of the allegations, that is down from 37% who said that in March.

In further evidence of the effectiveness of the charge, about a third of Villaraigosa’s voters said that that the “pay to play” allegations against Hahn informed their vote, compared to only 18% who cited the mayor’s opposition to Valley secession as a reason for voting against him or the 15% who disliked his opposition of Parks.
Citywide, more than six in 10 voters said that Villaraigosa’s acceptance of the Florida contributions would play no role in their vote and 27% said they are less likely to vote for him as a result. The survey shows that these allegations are playing no more of a role in the vote than are other issues in the campaign. While nearly half of those who are voting for Hahn said the allegations would make them less likely to vote for Villaraigosa, 47% said that about Villaraigosa’s flip-flopping, 49% said the same of the Vignali letter, 39% said the ACLU was a problem for them and 36% saw his opposition to gang injunctions as a reason not to vote for him.

Voter Priorities -- Crime, Traffic and Education

The Times Poll has found in past surveys that voters point to crime, reform of the public school system, and/or traffic problems as the issues they would most like their mayor to address. Likely voters in this survey again chose Villaraigosa over Hahn by a large margin (28 points) as the candidate most likely to improve the public school system if he is elected, and by a smaller margin (nine points) as the candidate they would look to for improving traffic and transportation. Hahn continues to hold a small lead over Villaraigosa (eight points) when it comes to reducing crime and dealing with gangs.

In this survey, voters were asked which candidate would do a better job on these three issues, and also the degree to which each might be able to improve that problem if they were elected as mayor. While a majority of voters indicated that either or both of the candidates might be able to make headway against all three of the issues once elected, traffic problems were seen as the most intransigent. About a third felt that neither candidate would be able to do much if anything to improve that situation, compared to a quarter who said the same thing about the public school system, and only one in six that thought that neither candidate would be able to make a dent in crime.

Education

Improving public education in the city is a top priority for many Angeleno voters. In the Times poll taken last month, education was the number one issue. And Villaraigosa was seen by voters in both that survey and the current one as the best candidate to address the problems of public education in this city. Voters picked him 50% to 22% over Hahn as the candidate most able to handle education. More than eight out of 10 of Villaraigosa’s supporters picked their candidate, compared to 49% of Hahn’s.

Only 35% citywide said they thought that Hahn would be able to improve schools if he was elected, while 61% said he would not be able to do much if anything. Nearly six in 10 said they thought Villaraigosa could make some inroads into the problem, compared to 37% who doubted that was the case. About half of Hahn’s voters thought he’d be the best man for the job, but 84% of Villaraigosa’s said the same thing about their candidate.

Crime

Hahn beats Villaraigosa on the subject of who would be best at holding down crime by a narrow plurality of 42% to 34%. Eighteen percent said both or neither candidate. But even on this issue where Hahn has maintained an edge on his challenger, the edge is blunt. A slightly higher proportion of voters citywide said that they thought Villaraigosa would be able to improve the crime situation in the city (56%) if he is elected mayor than said the same thing about Hahn (52%). One in six didn’t see much hope that either candidate would be able to do much about the problem.

Similarly, while 73% of Hahn’s voters said their candidate would be able to do something about reducing crime if he is re-elected, 23% said they doubted it. Villaraigosa’s voters have more confidence in their candidate – more than eight in 10 said he’d have at least some success tackling the problem if he is elected while 14% didn’t think that would be the case.
Traffic

There was little hope that either candidate would be successful at taming the traffic problems in Los Angeles, 39% picked Villaraigosa over Hahn while 30% did the opposite and 18% said neither candidate would be able to do much about it.

About a third of voters overall said “not much” or “not at all” when asked if either Hahn or Villaraigosa could be effective in solving the problem after being elected. Only 38% saw Hahn as being able to change things some or a lot over the next four years, while they were somewhat more hopeful about Villaraigosa – nearly half said they thought he might be able to do at least something. More than half of Hahn’s voters said their candidate might make some positive change in the traffic situation and about seven in 10 of Villaraigosa’s voters thought he might be able to improve the situation.

-- Analysis by Susan Pinkus and Jill Darling Richardson
Results from the Times Poll
LA City Poll
May 2-8, 2005

Guide to Column Headings

Among all likely voters:

LV All Likely voters
DEM Democrats
REP Republicans
WHT Whites
BLK Blacks
LAT Latinos
WES Westside
SFV San Fernando Valley
CEN Central Los Angeles (City of LA, including east of Beverly Hills and North of 10 FWY)
SOU Southern Los Angeles (City of LA, including south of the 10 FWY and San Pedro)

Note
- All results are among likely voters in the city of Los Angeles.
- (Vol.) indicates a voluntarily response
- ‘–’ indicates less than 0.5%

Q1. Do you think things in the city of Los Angeles are generally going in the right direction or are they seriously off on the wrong track?

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ORDER OF CANDIDATES IS ROTATED
Q4. If the May 17th runoff for mayor of the city of Los Angeles were being held today and the candidates were: Los Angeles Mayor James Kenneth Hahn and Los Angeles City Council member Antonio R. Villaraigosa, for whom would you vote: Hahn or Villaraigosa? (INCLUDES LEANERS)

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</table>
(ASKED OF VOTERS WHO MENTIONED A CANDIDATE)

Q5. Are you certain you're going to vote for that candidate, or is it possible that you might end up voting for the other candidate?

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**Among Hahn/Villaraigosa voters:**

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<th>Villaraigosa</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Might vote for other candidate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>–</td>
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</table>

Q6. Do you support your mayoral choice today mostly because you like him and his policies or because he is the lesser of two evils?

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>70</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td>He is lesser of two evils</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>25</td>
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**Among Hahn/Villaraigosa voters:**

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<th>Villaraigosa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Like him/his policies</td>
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<td>He is lesser of two evils</td>
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(ORDER OF NEXT TWO QUESTIONS IS ROTATED)

Q7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way James Hahn is handling his job as mayor of Los Angeles? (IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE) Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly or (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

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</table>
Q8. Generally speaking, do you think the city of Los Angeles is better off because of James Hahn’s policies and should continue in the direction he has set, or do you think Los Angeles is not better off and needs to move in a new direction?

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</table>

Regardless of which candidate for mayor you happen to prefer right now, generally speaking, which candidate, if either, do you think would do the better job handling the following issues: James Hahn or Antonio Villaraigosa? If you think neither of them or both of them would do the better job, you can say that, too. For example:

(ORDER OF NEXT THREE QUESTIONS AND CANDIDATES IS ROTATED)

Q9. Which candidate for mayor do you think would do the better job holding down crime: James Hahn or Antonio Villaraigosa?

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Q10. Which candidate for mayor do you think would do the better job improving traffic and transportation issues: James Hahn or Antonio Villaraigosa?

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Q11. Which candidate for mayor do you think would do the better job improving the city's public schools: James Hahn or Antonio Villaraigosa?

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Q12. Do you think James Hahn is a strong leader, or not?

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Q13. Do you think Antonio Villaraigosa is a strong leader, or not?

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Q14. Do you think James Hahn has the honesty and integrity to serve as mayor of Los Angeles, or not?

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Q15. Do you think Antonio Villaraigosa has the honesty and integrity to serve as mayor of Los Angeles, or not?

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Q16. Do you think James Hahn’s personality is well suited for the job of mayor of Los Angeles, or not?

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Q17. Do you think Antonio Villaraigosa's personality is well suited for the job of mayor of Los Angeles, or not?

<table>
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(ORDER OF THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS IS ROTATED)

Q18. Do you think if James Hahn is reelected as mayor of Los Angeles, he would be able to reduce crime a lot, some, not much or not at all?

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Q19. Do you think if Antonio Villaraigosa is elected as mayor of Los Angeles, he would be able to reduce crime a lot, some, not much or not at all?

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(ORDER OF THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS IS ROTATED)

Q20. Do you think if James Hahn is reelected as mayor of Los Angeles, he would be able to improve traffic a lot, some, not much or not at all?

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Q21. Do you think if Antonio Villaraigosa is elected as mayor of Los Angeles, he would be able to improve traffic a lot, some, not much or not at all?

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(QORDER OF THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS IS ROTATED)

Q22. Do you think if James Hahn is reelected as mayor of Los Angeles, he would be able to improve public schools a lot, some, not much or not at all?

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Q23. Do you think if Antonio Villaraigosa is elected as mayor of Los Angeles, he would be able to improve public schools a lot, some, not much or not at all?

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Q24. Lots of people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? So far this year, would you say you have been very interested in following the political campaign for mayor of the city of Los Angeles, or somewhat interested, or somewhat uninterested, or very uninterested in following the political campaign for mayor this year?

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Q31. What is your impression of James Hahn? As of today, is it very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him to say?

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Q32. What is your impression of Antonio Villaraigosa? As of today, is it very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable or haven't you heard enough about him to say?

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Q33. As you may know, James Hahn did not advocate the reappointment of Bernard Parks to a second term as Los Angeles police chief. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Hahn for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Hahn because he did not advocate reappointing Parks to a second term as police chief, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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Q34. As you may know, James Hahn led the campaign that opposed the secession of the San Fernando Valley from the city of Los Angeles. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Hahn for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Hahn because he led the campaign that opposed the secession of the San Fernando Valley from Los Angeles, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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Q35. Do you think Antonio Villaraigosa flip flops on the issues or that he changes what he says to fit the audience, or not? (IF FLIP FLOPS) Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not? (IF WILL PLAY A ROLE) Are you much more likely to vote for Villaraigosa, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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Q36. As you may know, in 1996 Antonio Villaraigosa wrote a letter to the White House, seeking an early release from prison for Carlos Vignali, who had been convicted of cocaine trafficking and sentenced to 15 years. Villaraigosa and other politicians had been asked to write such letters by Vignali’s father, who had contributed to their political campaigns. President Clinton commuted Vignali’s sentence. Villaraigosa now says writing the letter was a mistake. Will this matter play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Villaraigosa because of his actions, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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Q37. As you may know, Antonio Villaraigosa is a former leader of the Southern California chapter of the ACLU -- the American Civil Liberties Union. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Villaraigosa because of his leadership of the local ACLU chapter, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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Q38. As you may know, Antonio Villaraigosa once opposed gang injunctions, which are court orders that limit the ability of gangs to associate in certain neighborhoods. Now, Villaraigosa says he supports such injunctions against gang members. Will this play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Villaraigosa because of his actions, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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</table>
Q39. As you may know, local and federal prosecutors are investigating whether city contracts were awarded for political contributions to James Hahn's campaign. Hahn denies the allegations. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Hahn for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Hahn because of these allegations, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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Q40. As you may know, Antonio Villaraigosa accepted more than $40,000 from employees and relatives of two Florida gift shop companies with interest in doing business at the Los Angeles airport. Some of the donors have given conflicting stories about why they gave to his campaign. Villaraigosa says they gave because they feel it is time for a change in Los Angeles. After the donations became public knowledge, he returned the money. Will that play any role in whether you will vote for Villaraigosa for mayor, or not? (IF YES) Are you much more likely to vote for Villaraigosa because of this, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

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How the Poll Was Conducted

The Times Poll contacted 3,236 adults in the city of Los Angeles by telephone May 2 through May 8, 2005. Among them were 2,176 registered voters, of which 742 were deemed likely to vote in the May 17 mayoral runoff election. Likely voters were determined by a screening process which included questions on intention to vote, certainty of vote, interest in the campaign, absentee voting and past voting history. Telephone numbers were chosen from a list of all exchanges in the city, and random digit dialing techniques allowed listed and unlisted numbers to be contacted. Multiple attempts were made to contact each number. Additional African American and Latino voters were contacted in separate random samples to allow more accurate analysis of their subgroups. Adults in the entire sample were weighted slightly to conform with their respective census proportions by sex, ethnicity, age, education, city region, and party registration. The margin of sampling error for likely voters is plus or minus 4 percentage points in either direction. For certain subgroups, the error margin may be somewhat higher. Poll results may also be affected by factors such as question wording and the order in which questions are presented. Interviews in the supplemental samples were conducted by Interviewing Service of America, Van Nuys, California. While Asian voters were interviewed and are included as part of the overall results in this poll, they are too small a subgroup of the sample to be separately reported. Interviews in all samples were conducted in both English and Spanish.